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II.—*On the Irish Coins of Henry the Seventh.* By AQUILLA SMITH, M.D.,  
M.R.I.A.

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Read 14th June, 1841.

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INTRODUCTION.

AS the coins which I am about to describe, belong to some of the Henrys, it appears to me that the best course which can be adopted, is, in the first place to inquire, whether any of them can be assigned to the predecessors of Henry the Seventh, who bore the same name; for by proceeding in this manner, the period, to which the coins can be appropriated, will be reduced to the smallest possible limit, and the inquiries which follow in the subsequent pages will be greatly facilitated.

Simon has pointed out the mistake committed by Bishop Nicholson, who says that “ Henry the Fourth, in the year 1404, ordered the noble of his five immediate predecessors to pass in Ireland for ten shillings; and, from that time, all sorts of coin went at a higher value here than in England.”\*

The words referred to by the learned Prelate, who quoted from Sir John Davis’s Reports, are these, “ Mes le primer difference et inequalitie enter les standards del English moneys et Irish moneys est trove en 5 Edw. 4. Car donques fuit declare en parliament icy, que le noble fait en temps Edw. 3. R. 2. Hen. 4. Hen. 5. et Hen. 6. serroit de cest temps en avant curreant en cest realm pur 10s. et issint le demy noble, et tous auters coines selonque mesme le rate. Vide Rot. Parliament, 5 Edw. 4. cap. 40. et 11 Edw. 4. cap. 6. et 15 Edw. 4. cap. 5. in le office del Rolles in Castro Dublin.”†

The error of Bishop Nicholson in writing Henry IV., instead of Edward IV., is so palpable from his reference to Davis, that it would not require any notice

\* Irish Historical Library, 8vo. 1724, p. 162.

† Davis’s Reports, fol. 1674, p. 22.

here, had not Simon remarked, that “this last Act (15 Edw. IV.) seems to hint, that some kind of money was coined here in this reign, (Henry IV.,) as well as in that of Henry V.”\* He also conjectures that the great scarcity of money in England seems to have been a reason for coining the more money in Ireland, and therefore believes that the groats, figs. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60 in his 3rd Plate, belong to Henry the Fifth.

The Act of 1475, from which Simon drew his inference, ordains “that the coin called the gross, made in the reigns of Edward the Third, &c., not clipped, shall be of the value of six deniers. The gross made in England in the time of the present king, not clipped, shall pass for five deniers, *and all the moneys struck in Ireland to be of the same value as they now are.*”†

The latter part of this extract is the only passage in the Act which could give any support to his opinion; but it appears to me to have reference only to the numerous coins of various types, “struck in Ireland” in the first fifteen years of Edward’s reign, during which period his Irish money was considerably less in value than his English.‡

In 1421, the ninth year of Henry the Fifth, in a parliament held at Dublin, before James Earl of Ormond, the Lords and Commons agreed to send a petition to the king, praying for the redress of several grievances. The petition contains nineteen articles, the third of which prays, “that certain money be struck in Dublin as in England, and that the necessary officers, moneyers, &c., be appointed.”§

From this evidence it is probable, that no legal money was coined in Ireland for some time previous to the date of the petition, and it leaves no grounds whatever for Simon’s appropriation of any Irish coins to Henry the Fifth, who died

\* Essay on Irish Coins, p. 19.

† Simon, Appendix, No. XIV.

‡ I am indebted to my learned friend, the Rev. Richard Butler, of Trim, for directing my attention to several important records of the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth, which have hitherto been unknown to writers on Irish coins, and which may be found in the “*Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Calendarium*,” vol. i. pars 1.

§ “Art. 3. Petunt quod certe monete cudantur in Dublinia sicut in Anglia, cum omnibus officiariis, monetariis, &c., necessariis.”—*Rot. Pat. 9, Hen. V. cap. 111.*

In the extracts from the Calendar, the words in full have been substituted for the contractions, which it would be useless and inconvenient to retain.

in 1422; but this subject may be more conveniently discussed hereafter, when I shall endeavour to support Mr. Lindsay's appropriation of the coins in question, to Henry the Seventh.

A writ, directed to the Sheriff of Dublin, in the first year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, recites, "that the king had learned that many merchants brought into Ireland large sums of counterfeit, washed, and clipped gold, and that they carried away the king's silver money."\* And a roll of the same year, after reciting, "that Henry the Fifth had been informed, that there were counterfeiters of gold and silver, and washers, clippers, and weighers of the same in Ireland, and that he had caused proclamation to be made against such practices, under the penalty of loss of life and limbs, and that no person should presume to weigh or refuse gold (except such as was counterfeit or washed); appoints Janico Dartas, Nicholas Daly, and Richard Talloun, jointly and separately, to inquire after those who presumed to weigh the king's gold, and also of those who dared to carry clipped, washed, or counterfeit gold from England into Ireland, for the purpose of accumulating the king's silver money, and further gives the aforesaid officers power to arrest such offenders, together with their money, and commit them to prison."†

\* "Breve vicecomiti Dublinie directum, in quo recitatur regem, ex gravi querela ligeorum Hibernie, accepisse quod quamplures mercatores ad Hiberniam venientes huc portant secum, causa vendendi et emendi, maximas summas auri Regis controfecti, loti, et tonsi, ad dictum populum decipiendum, et pecunias Regis argenteas hinc, ad opus suum, subdole extorquendum de die in die non desistunt."—*Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. VI. cap. 40.*

† "Rex (recitatur qualter H. V., cum, ex gravi et clamosa insinuacione dominorum spiritualium et temporalium ac communium Hibernie in parlamento existentium, accepisset quod nonnullæ persone extiterint controfectores cune monete auri et argenti, ac lotores, tonsores, et ponderatores ejusdem monete infra Hiberniam, per brevia sua fecerit proclamari quod ne quis, sub pena vite et membrorum, foret controfactor, lotor, tonsor, vel ponderator dicte monete, et quod ne quis aurum in recepcionibus, &c., (auro loto et controfecto excepto) ponderare seu denegare presumeret,) assignavit Janico Dartas armigerum, Nicholaum Daly, et Ricardum Talloun, conjunctim et divisim, ad inquirendum de eis qui cum belanciis aurum Regis in vendicionibus &c., ponderare presumpserint, ac de illis qui aurum Regis tonsum, [aut lotum,] seu controfectum, extra Angliam in Hiberniam cariare presumpserint, ad monetam Regis argenti pro hujusmodi auro, vel alio modo accumulandum; et culpabiles, una cum mone [ta] Regis argenti sic accumulata, in quorumcumque manibus existat, capiendum, et ipsos prisone committendum. Dub, 10 Julii."—*Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. VI. Dorso, cap. 109, b.*

In the second year of this king, in a great council, held on the morrow of All Souls, before Edward Bishop of Meath, deputy of Edmund Earl of March, it was ordained, that the noble, half, and quarter noble (except counterfeit gold) should be universally received by weight, and that a standard weight should be deposited in the Irish Exchequer, and that all the sheriffs, mayors, &c., throughout the land, should have weights agreeing with the said standard, and that every liege subject should have access to the standard weight as often as he pleased, and that no person should refuse gold contrary to the aforesaid ordinance, under a penalty of ten shillings, to be paid to the king, and that any offender might be committed to gaol, and kept there until he made redemption and fine.”\*

It does not appear that the petition for the establishment of a mint in Dublin, in the ninth year of Henry the Fifth, was granted before the third year of Henry the Sixth, for on the 6th of February in that year, a grant of the office of master of the coinage in the Castle of Dublin, was made to John Cobbham, during the king’s pleasure, provided that the money be made of the *same weight, allay, and assay, as the silver money which is made in London*, and that the said John may receive for the making of one lb. of money, to be made in the aforesaid Castle, only as much, and that he shall pay to the king as much, as the master of the coinage in London receives and pays for one lb. of the same sort, and he shall

\* “ In magno consilio, coram Edwardo episcopo Midie, deputato Edmundi comitis Marchie locum tenentis, in Crastino Animarum tento, ordinatum est, ad supplicationem communium ad dictum consilium per brevia Regis electorum, quod nobilis, obolus, et quadrans auri (auro controfecto excepto) secundum pondus et valorem per ligeos ac alias gentes ad Hiberniam confluentes recipiantur per pondus universaliter: et quod unum standardum ponderis dicti auri standardo Anglie concordans sit, et in thesauro in custodia thesaurarii et camerariorum saccarii Hibernie, de cetero remaneret: et quod quilibet vicecomes, major, ballivus, senescallus, superior, et prepositus, per totam terram, ad eorum prosecutionem habeant pondera dicto standardo recte concordancia: et insuper, quod quilibet ligeus terre predictae habeat cursum ad dicta standarda in quolibet loco ubi assistunt, ad pondera standardi quociens sibi placuerit faciendum: et eciam, quod ligei, et indigene, et alienigene ad Hiberniam confluentes hujusmodi aurum, licet tonsum seu lotum, per pondus, secundum valorem et pondus ejusdem percipiant in futuro: et quod nullus hujusmodi aurum contra ordinationem predictam refutet sub pena 10<sup>s</sup> ad opus Regis solvendum: et quod corpus ejusdem delinquentis gaole committatur in ea moraturum quousque redemptionem et finem inde faciat &c.”—*Rot. Claus. 2 Hen. VI. prima pars. cap. 27.*

be bound by indenture to perform the premises, in the same manner and form as the master in London is bound.\*

In the third and fourth years of Henry, a grant of one hundred shillings a year, during the king's pleasure, was made to William Goldesmyth, the striker of the money in the Castle of Dublin.†

At a parliament held at Trim, in 1447, an Act was passed against clipping and counterfeiting the king's coin, and it was ordained "that no money so clipped be received in any place of said land, from the first day of May next to come, nor the money called the O'Reyly's money, or any other unlawful money, so that one coynere be ready at the said day to make the coyn."‡

In 1456, a parliament was held at Naas, and it was enacted, at the request of the Commons, that "whereas no mean could be found to keep the king's coin within the land of Ireland," all foreign merchants "shall pay for every pound of silver that they shall carry out of Ireland, forty-pence of custom to the king's customer, to the use of the king; and if any man shall do the contrary in concealing of the said custom, he shall pay for every penny, twenty shillings to the said customers, to the king's use,"§ and from the twelfth chapter of the same Act it appears that Ireland was greatly impoverished by the daily exportation of silver, and the great clipping of the coin, and that "the Irish money, called the O'Reyly's," daily increased; it was therefore enacted, that any person carrying silver out of Ireland shall pay for custom to the king twelve-pence for every ounce; "except lords and messengers going to England upon business of the public, who may carry plate with them, according to their degrees."||

\* "Rex concessit Johanni Cobbham officium magistri cunagii in castro Dublinie faciendi, durante beneplacito, proviso quod moneta operata sit ejusdem ponderis, allaie, et assaie, sicut moneta argenti que in Londonio operata est, et quod dictus Johannes tantum pro factura I libre monete in castro predicto operate percipiat, et Regi tantum reddat, quantum magister monete in terra predicta pro hujusmodi libra percipit et reddit, et quod idem Johannes ad premissa facienda per indenturam obligetur, eisdem modo et forma quibus magister cunagii in terra predicta pro tempore obligatus existit. Trym, 6 Feb."—*Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. VI. cap. 21.*

† "Rex eisdem mandat quod Willelmo Goldesmy[th?], percussori monete in castro Dublinie, 100s per annum ei per Regem concessos durante beneplacito annuatim solvant. [ ] Julii, anni predicti."—*Rot. Claus. 3 & 4 Hen. VI. cap. 35.*

‡ Simon, Appendix, No. III.

§ Ruding, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 341.

|| Simon, Appendix, No. IV.

The next and last Act of this reign relating to the coinage contains much that is important.

At a parliament held at Drogheda, in the year 1460, it was enacted, that the value of English gold coins should be raised one-fourth in Ireland, and that the gross of London, York, and Calais, not clipped within the extreme circle, should pass for five-pence in Ireland, and the smaller pieces in the same proportion. “ And as not only the Dutchy of Normandy, but also the Dutchy of Guienne, when they were under the obedience of the realm of England, yet were no less separate from the laws and Statutes of England, and had also coynes for themselves different from the coyne of England ; so Ireland, though it be under the obedience of the same realm, is nevertheless separate from it, and from all the laws and Statutes of it, only such as are there by the lords spiritual and temporal freely admitted and accepted of in parliament or great council, by which a proper coyne separate from the coyne of England, was with more convenience agreed to be had in Ireland under two forms; the one of the weight of half a quarter of an ounce troy weight, on which shall be imprinted on one side a lyon, and on the other side a crown, called an *Irelandes d'argent*, to pass for the value of one penny sterling ; the other of vii. ob. of troy weight, having imprinted on one part of it a crown, and on the other part a cross, called a *Patrick*, of which eight shall pass for one denier. That a gross be made of the weight of three deniers sterling, and to pass for four deniers sterling, which shall have imprinted on it on one side a crown, and on the other side a cross like the coyne of Calais, bearing about the cross in writing, the name of the place where the coin is made ; and that every person, who brings bullion to the mint, ought to receive and have for every ounce of silver, troy weight, nine of the said grosses of the value of three deniers. That the coyne called the *Jack*,\* be hereafter of no value and void, and that the above coynes be made in the Castles of Dublin and Trymme ;” and at an adjourned sitting of the same parliament it was enacted, “ that the denier with the cross called *Irelandes* be utterly void, and that in lieu of it a penny be

\* Having lately seen some copper pieces of *Jacobus* the Second of Scotland, which were found in Ireland, it occurred to me that the “ *Jacks* ” mentioned in the Act, might be these coins of James, who was contemporary with Henry the Sixth.

Since this note was written I find that the same term was applied to the brass shillings of James the Second. See “ The Jacks put to their trumps,” p. 123, in the *Historical Songs of Ireland*, printed for the Percy Society, 1841.

struck in silver, having the weight of the fourth part of the new gross of Ireland, to be imprinted and inscribed as the new gross.”\*

From the grant to Cobbham, in the year 1425, which provides that the money to be made in Dublin shall be of the *same weight, allay, and assay, as the silver money made in London*, and the appointment in the following year of a moneyer, with an annual salary of one hundred shillings, it is more than probable that some money was coined in Dublin about that time.

I know of only one coin which I can venture to assign to Henry the Sixth, during the early part of his reign. It has on the obverse, the king's head with an open crown fleury, within a circle of pellets, a star of six rays at the left side of the neck, mint mark a cross, legend *HENRICVS DNS HIBNIE*, an annulet at the end of the legend; reverse, a plain cross with three pellets in each quarter, legend *CIVITAS DVBLINIE*; there is an annulet after *CIVI*. It weighs twelve grains and a quarter.



This interesting coin, which is of the highest rarity, and in fine preservation, is in the cabinet of the Rev. J. W. Martin, of Keston, to whom I am indebted for the loan of it and several other Irish coins of great rarity.

That this coin, which on account of the absence of the tressure on the obverse, I believe to be a penny, was struck in the early part of the reign of Henry the Sixth, is very probable; evidence is now, for the first time, adduced, which proves that in 1425 Irish money was ordered to be made of the same standard as the English money, and the weight of this piece, which is equal to many of the English pennies of Henry the Sixth, and considerably more than the fourth part of any of the Irish groats of Henry the Seventh, which I believe never exceed thirty-two grains, and rarely weigh so much, shows clearly that it must have been coined during the reign of Henry the Sixth. The mint mark is similar to that which occurs on some of the English coins usually assigned to Henry, the annulets also, and the star, are marks which connect it with the same reign. The

\* Simon, Appendix, No. V.



occurrence of the Roman *n* in three places in the legends of this coin, is very remarkable, I have not seen any other Irish coin from the time of Edward the Third, to that of Henry the Eighth, which has the Roman *n* in its legend, except a Dublin groat of the third year of Edward the Fourth.\*

It is very doubtful, whether any money was coined under the authority of the Act of 1447, in which the provision for a new coinage depended on the coiner being ready against a certain day; and the great scarcity of silver, together with the daily increase of “the Irish money, called the O’Reyley’s,” mentioned in the Act of 1457, could scarcely have happened, had any legal money been coined in the meantime.

The Act of 1460 appears to warrant the inference, that if any money was coined in Ireland previous to that time, it must have been similar in *type* and *standard* to the penny already described; for by the same Act, “a proper coyne *separate from the coin of England*, was with more convenience agreed to be had in Ireland.”

The type and weight of the coins ordered to be made in 1460, are so fully described in the Act, that it would appear there could be little difficulty, in determining which coins should be assigned to this date.

The penny called the “*Irelandes d’argent*,” has not hitherto been discovered. The Act which ordered it to be made, came into operation on the 17th of March, and on the Monday after Trinity Sunday (8th June), the penny called “*Irelandes*” was declared to “be utterly void.”

A few copper coins, of the type ascribed in the Act to the half-farthings called “*Patricks*,” have been found, but most of them exceed, by several grains, the weight fixed by the Act. There is one† which I am inclined to appropriate to Henry the Sixth, because it weighs only six grains, and the form of the cross on the reverse is different from that on the heavier coins, which I believe were minted early in the reign of Edward the Fourth.

The type of the groat as described in this Act, agrees so far with some of the coins of Edward the Fourth, that it is still doubtful which of them are to be considered as belonging to Henry.

Taking for granted that the groat published by Simon (Pl. III. fig. 61) is

\* See Irish Coins of Edw. IV. Pl. I. fig. 18, Trans. R. I. Academy, vol. xix.

† Ibid. Pl. I. fig. 15.

accurately represented, as having a tressure of *twelve* arches round the crown, which is very shallow, and a trefoil at each point of the tressure, I assign it to Henry the Sixth. It is much to be regretted that this coin cannot now be found in the numerous and extensive collections to which I have had access; but that such a piece was in Simon's possession can hardly be doubted, as the penny subsequently published by Snelling in his supplement (Pl. I. fig. 16) agrees with it in the number of arches in the tressure, and in the form of the crown, and such a coincidence can hardly be attributed to a mistake of the artist; this penny I also appropriate to Henry the Sixth.

I am aware that a distinguished collector in England does not believe that a groat with twelve arches in the tressure ever was in existence, on the grounds that no such piece is at present known; but a short time since, the same argument might have been applied to a coin of James the Second,\* as no specimen of it was then known; two however have been lately discovered; one in pewter, which was found in a sewer in Dublin, is in the cabinet of the late Dean of St. Patrick's, and another in brass, in a good state of preservation, is in the possession of the author.

I shall now proceed to the investigation of the coins, which I conceive belong to Henry the Seventh, a task which I enter on with much diffidence, as it presents difficulties at almost every step of the inquiry.

THERE are many coins which may, without any doubt, be appropriated to Henry the Seventh, although very few documents relating to his Irish coins have been discovered, nor is it likely that any others have been preserved, from which direct evidence can be obtained.

The almost total absence of records connected with the coinage of this reign, is the more remarkable, as the greater part of the numerous Acts, relating to money coined during the reigns of Henry's immediate predecessors, Edward the Fourth, and Richard the Third, are still preserved among the State Papers in Ireland.

Ruding, on the authority of Snelling, states, that in the first year of Henry the Seventh "Robert Bowley" was "Maister of the Cunage and Mynt within the Cities of Dyvelin (Dublin) and Waterford."†

\* Simon, Pl. VIII. fig. 177.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 90.

On the 9th of March, 1491, Nicholas Flint\* was by the king's appointment "made overseer of the mints of Dublin and Waterford;" and on the 15th of April following, a proclamation was issued by the king at Greenwich, authorizing Gerald Earl of Kildare "to cause and prescribe certain laws for the prevention of false or mixt silver in coin within that his Lordship of Ireland."†

The English Act of his nineteenth year, 1504, states that "The coins, especially of silver, were so impaired as well by clipping as counterfeiting the same, and by bringing into the realm the *coin of Ireland*, that great rumour and variance daily increased among his subjects, for taking and refusing the same;" and in the same year it was enacted, that no person should bring into England "of the *coin of Ireland*, above the sum of three shillings and four pence, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, and fine and ransom, at the king's pleasure."‡

In 1506, the king granted to Thomas Galmole, alias Archibold, of Dublin, Goldsmith, the office of Master of the Coinage and Monies, made within the Castle of Dublin, and to hold the said office himself, or by his deputy, during the king's pleasure. §

These scanty records and the coins themselves, are the only sources from which evidence can be derived respecting the numerous coins of Henry which have been preserved; and before I enter on the description of them it will be convenient to inquire, whether it be possible to determine the standard by which the coinage was regulated. The want of any direct evidence on this subject compels me to revert to such facts as may be collected from the history of the preceding reigns.

\* This person held several offices connected with the English mint, in the early part of this reign 1485—1487, he was, "Cont<sup>r</sup>. Monete et Cunagii infra Turrim Lond." "Assaiator Monete et Cunagii"—"Sculptor de et pro ferris," "Campsor Monete et Cunagii infra Tur. London"—and on the 17th of May, 1486, he was appointed Keeper of the King's Exchange.—*Ruding*, vol. i. pp. 98, 106, 119, 161, and vol. iv. p. 194.

† Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, A.D. 1491.

‡ *Ruding*, vol. ii. pp. 397 and 399.

§ "18. Rex concessit Thomae Galmole de Dublinia, goldsmyth, alias Thomae Archibold, magisterium cunagii et numismatum infra castrum Dublinie fiendorum, habendum officium predictum per se vel deputatum, durante beneplacito. 6 Julii." *Rot. Pat.* 21 *Hen. VII. cap.* 18.

This Thomas Galmole was probably the same person who was "master and worker of the money of silver, and keeper of the exchanges in the cities of Devylyn and Waterford," in 1483. *Ruding*, vol. ii. p. 376.

I have already shewn, that in the third year of Henry the Sixth (1425), the master of the coinage in Dublin was bound, by indenture; to make the coins of the *same weight, allay, and assay, as the silver money, which was made in London*, from which time until the thirty-eighth year of the same reign (1460), it does not appear, nor is it probable, that any change in the standard took place; but in the latter year the Irish groat was ordered to be made “of the weight of three deniers sterling.” The penny, or “denier sterling” of that time, weighed fifteen grains, consequently the Irish groat of 1460 should weigh only forty-five grains, and was a fourth less in weight and value than the English groat. And from this time “the first difference and inequality betwixt the standard of the English and Irish monies”\* is to be dated, and not, as Sir John Davis supposed, from the fifth year of Edward the Fourth, at which time, however, the standard in Ireland was again changed, while its proportion to the English groat was preserved, which had been reduced in 1464 from sixty to forty-eight grains. During the subsequent years of Edward’s reign, the standard of his Irish money was frequently altered, according to the exigencies of the times, and in the first year of Richard the Third, 1483, his Irish money was ordered to be made according to the standard of the twelfth year of Edward the Fourth, at which time the weight of the Irish groat was about thirty-two grains, or a third less than the English.

It has been just stated, that Edward reduced the English groat to forty-eight grains, which standard was adhered to in England, until the eighteenth year of Henry the Eighth. The Irish groat, during the latter part of Edward’s reign and that of Richard, was about a third less than the English, and that the same proportion was observed in the early part of the reign of Henry the Seventh, is evident, from a passage in a letter, written by Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, to the king in 1487, “recommending Arthur Magennis to that prince, for the bishopric of Dromore, wherein he says, that the revenue of that diocese is not worth above forty pounds, of the coin of Ireland, *which is less by the third part than the coin sterling.*”† From this evidence and also from the fact, that some of Henry’s groats, when in good preservation, weigh thirty-two grains, which I believe they never exceed, I conclude that the standard in Ireland was not altered during the reign of Henry, and that his Irish groat was always a third less than the English of the same period.

\* See p. 50.

† Simon, p. 31.

Some arrangement is necessary, for the purpose of attempting to determine the order in which the several coins were issued from the mints. In the absence of documents by which the dates might be fixed, the only safe guide which remains are the coins themselves, and from deliberate consideration of the types and numerous varieties which have come under my observation, I have selected the cross on the reverse, as the character which best distinguishes the three sections into which I propose to divide them.

#### THE FIRST SECTION.

The coins included in this section have on the obverse a shield, bearing the arms of England and France, quartered by a cross, the extremities of which are generally terminated by three annulets; and on the reverse, three crowns in pale (the arms of Ireland),\* with a similar cross: all the groats which I have seen have (with one exception) the letter H under the crowns; they usually weigh about twenty-eight grains, and never I believe exceed thirty.

The description of the numerous varieties of this type will be facilitated by dividing them into three classes: 1st, coins minted at Dublin; 2nd, those which bear the name of Waterford; 3rd, coins without the name of the place of mintage.

Of the Dublin mint there are groats, half-groats, and pennies.

The groat (Pl. V. Fig. 1) has the legends HENRIC DI GRACIA, and CIVITAS DVBLINIE. The lions on the shield have their tails doubled back in a manner which distinguishes this coin from the three crown money of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third. The upper crown on the reverse has a double arch, surmounted by a ball and cross. It is evident that the artist at first inserted the letter E in the name of the city, and afterwards attempted to conceal his blunder by punching over it the letter V.

A groat has been lately found at Trim, the obverse of which is from the same die as fig. 1, the reverse has the cross and arches over the upper crown, but the legend is divided as follows: CIVIT-ASDV-BLIN-IEE, with a fleur-de-lis after the last letter. The coin is in the cabinet of the Rev. R. Butler, a small portion is broken off, and it weighs twenty-seven grains.

\* See Irish Coins of Edward IV., p. 37.

It is not unlikely that the coin which Simon published (Pl. III. fig. 63) was partly defaced, and that in the attempt to restore the legend, REX was substituted for ACIA ; the fleurs-de-lis in the legends are also omitted, and at the ends of the cross there are pellets instead of annulets.

All the half-groats have annulets at the ends of the cross on each side, but have not the letter H under the crowns ; they weigh from twelve to thirteen grains.

Fig. 2 has the legends HENRICVS DI OBAL, and CIVITAS DVBBL-. The letter o has been substituted for G, as is also very evident on the obverse of fig. 3, which is undoubtedly from the same die ; the legend on the reverse of the latter coin is CIV-ITA DEB-lin. On fig. 4, the legends are HENRICVS D, and CIVITAS DEBLIN, and fig. 5 reads HENRICVS DIO, and CIVITAS DEBLI.

The half-groat published by Simon (Pl. III. fig. 67), with the remarkable legend HENRIC DOM OBAR, if correctly represented, should perhaps be DOM VBER, an abbreviation of DOMINOS VBERNIE, the legend on several of the groats presently to be described.

The penny (Fig. 6) has a circle of pellets on each side, and *pellets* at the ends of the cross, the legends are he-NRICVS REX AN, and CIVITAS DVBLIN-, it weighs seven grains.

Groats are the only coins which are known from the mint at Waterford. The shield on the obverse is within a tressure of four single arches, outside which is a circle, sometimes formed of pellets, but more generally a plain line. The legend, in its most complete form, is, HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX, and on the reverse, CIVITAS WATERFORDE, one or more letters are generally omitted. The crowns on the reverse are within a tressure of double arches, the number of which is generally nine ; the marks which occur in the legends are, a trefoil, a star of five rays, and a small cross.

Fig. 7 has the legends HENRICVS GRAIA REX, and CIVITAS WA-terfor-DE, the arms of the cross are terminated by *pellets*, as on some of the three crown groats of Edward the Fourth, the tressure on the reverse has only eight arches, there are small trefoils at its points, and in the angles outside it, and a *fleur-de-lis* at each side of the middle crown ; another of similar type has the legend HENRICVS DI GRACIA RX.

Fig. 8 has the circle on each side formed of pellets, the legends are HENRICVS D GRACIA REX, and CIVITAS WATERFORD.

Fig. 9 has a circle of pellets on the obverse, and a plain circle on the reverse ; the legends are HENRICVS DI GRACI REX, and CIVITAS WATERFOR.

The circle on each side of all the other varieties is formed by a plain line ; the legends on fig. 10 are HENRICVS DI GRACIA R, and CIVITAS WATERFORDE, in two of the angles outside the tressure on the obverse there is a star of five rays.

On fig. 11 the legends are HENRICVS DI GRAE, and CIV-ITAS WATERFORD.

Fig. 12 has a star of five rays at each side of the lower crown, and the legends are HENRICVS DI GRACIA, and CIVITAS WATERFOR.

Figs. 13 and 14 are of ruder workmanship, and have a cross in the lower angles outside the tressure on the obverse ; on the reverse of one, the legend begins below, and on the other, at the left of the crowns, while on a third specimen the legend commences in the usual place ; these rude coins weigh from twenty-five to twenty-six grains. Fig. 14 is the only groat which I have seen without the letter H under the crowns.

There are other varieties which differ only from those described, in the arrangement of the letters in the quarters of the cross.

Of the coins without the name of the place of mintage, there are groats, half-groats, and pennies.

There are several varieties of the groats. Fig. 15 is a remarkably fine coin, it weighs thirty grains ; a fleur-de-lis occurs in three places in the legends—HENRICVS DI GRACIA, and DOMINOS VBERNIE.\* Fig. 16 reads REX ANLIE FRANC, and DOMINOS VBERNIE. Fig. 17 is remarkable for having DOMINOS VBERNIE on both sides, and the mint mark on the obverse is a cross formed by five small pellets. The next variety, fig. 18, has the borders of the shield, and the circles formed of pellets ; the legends are REX ANGLIE F-rancie, and DOMINOS VBERNIE ; and fig. 19, which is of a similar type, has on the reverse DOMINVS HIBERN. ; it weighs only twenty-two grains.

These four last groats have the tails of the lions doubled back in the same manner as on the Dublin groat.

Fig. 20 (Pl. VI.) has the Fitzgerald arms at each side of the shield, the legends are REX ANLIE FRA, and DOMINOS VRERNIE. The letter H under the crowns distinguishes it from similar coins minted in the reign of Edward the Fourth.

\* The king's name is invariably found on the groats of Dublin and Waterford, while on those without the place of mintage it occurs only on this groat.

Every groat of this type which I have seen, either of Edward the Fourth or Henry the Seventh, has VRERNIE on the reverse, but Simon gives one, Pl. III. fig. 65, which has HYBERNIE, and fig. 66 of the same plate has a tressure on each side like the Waterford groats, and the legends the same as his fig. 64.

Very few half-groats are known ; fig. 21 has on the obverse a cross terminated by *pellets*, and a rose before the legend REX ANGL FRANCIE ; reverse DOMNOS ---- NIE, the letter H under the crowns, and over them a cross patee, instead of three annulets as at the other ends of the cross ; it weighs thirteen grains. The cross patee on the reverse seems to identify this coin with the Dublin groat, fig. 1, while the obverse corresponds exactly with some of the half-groats of Edward the Fourth.\*

Simon's half-groat, fig. 68, appears to have the same obverse as the coin just described, but the legend on the reverse is DOM HIBERNIE.

Pennies are also very rare ; fig. 22 has a circle of pellets on each side, the cross on the obverse is without either pellets or annulets at its extremities, the legend probably was Rex angl-IE. On the reverse, which is *not* quartered by a cross, is the word VRERNI, divided equally by a small cross ; it weighs six grains, and were it not for the H under the crowns, it would be difficult to assign this coin to its proper place in the Irish series.

Mr. Lindsay has published a penny, with H under the crowns, the legends are REX ANGLIE and DOM-----.†

Simon did not hesitate to appropriate all the preceding coins to Henry the Sixth, for his words are, “ Whether these coins were struck before the year 1460, or after the year 1470, during the short time this prince had reassumed the crown, is hard to ascertain ; but by the letter H, which is on all the pieces with the three crowns, one might be tempted to believe, that they were coined during that short period, as it seems to be a distinguishing mark from those of Edward IV. struck before that time.”‡

\* See Irish Coins of Edward the Fourth, figs. 88, 89. The practice of using the dies of deceased monarchs was not unusual ; it is well known that Henry the Eighth, in his first coinage, used his father's dies ; and I have lately seen a coin in the cabinet of Mr. Cuff, which affords a more interesting illustration of the fact of old dies being altered. Mr. Cuff's coin is a Drogheda groat of Richard the Third, struck from a die used by Edward the Fourth, which was altered by punching the letters RIC, over EDW, the remains of which are very evident.

† Pl. VI. fig. 135.

‡ Page 22.



That the letter H was placed under the crowns as a distinctive mark, is very probable, but there is not any evidence whatever to support the appropriation of these coins to Henry the Sixth, who died eight years previous to the introduction of the three crown type into the Irish coinage.\*

Simon's conjecture that these coins "were probably intended for three penny and three-halfpenny pieces,"† appears to have been grounded on Sir James Ware's statement, that, in 1478, liberty was granted to the master of the mint to coin "pieces of *three* pence, two pence, and a penny,"‡ that is, in the proportion of 3, 2, and 1, while the weights of the coins are as 4, 2, and 1, or groats, half-groats, and pennies, as they are denominated in 1 Ric. III. cap. 8, in which the type is particularly described.§

The appropriation of these coins to Henry the Sixth, was not questioned until Mr. Lindsay, in his "View of the Coinage of Ireland," transferred them to Henry the Seventh, and that they were struck early in his reign is probable,—from the style of workmanship and correspondence in weight between them and the coins of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third of the same type,—from the fact of one of Edward's dies having been used for the obverse of the half-groat, fig. 21,—and the appointment in the first year of Henry the Seventh of a master of the coinage in the cities of Dublin and Waterford.

This is the most convenient place to notice a small coin, whose type is very different from any other known coin of any of the Henrys. The mint mark is a cross pierced in the centre, and the legend HE-NRI-CVS DNS HIB, the words separated by small crosses; reverse, a plain cross with a rose on its centre, CIVIT is all that remains of the legend, it weighs five grains.—(Fig. 23.)

This coin is much defaced, but from the size of the circle and its weight, it appears to have been intended for a penny; it is difficult to assign it to any particular date, the rose proves that it was not struck previous to the time of Edward the Fourth, and as Richard the Third coined pennies with a rose on the reverse,|| and three crown groats, it is not unlikely that his successor coined money of different types. The rose pennies of Edward and Richard have suns and roses

\* Ware's Antiq. by Harris, p. 215.

† Page 22.

‡ Ibid. p. 215.

§ Simon, Appendix, No. XVIII.

|| Snelling's Suppl. to Simon, Pl. I. fig. 27.

alternately on the field of the obverse, while on this coin of Henry neither of these badges appear.

On the other hand, it is now believed that Henry the Sixth coined money at London, Bristol, and York, during his brief restoration in 1470,\* and although no documentary evidence exists to prove that Henry exercised his prerogatives in Ireland in 1470, it is not impossible that this penny may have been minted in that year. Without presuming to decide this difficult question, I may remark that the Dublin pennies coined by Edward, in 1470, have a rose on the centre of the reverse.

#### THE SECOND SECTION.

The cross patee extending to the edge of the reverse, with three pellets in each quarter, is the character common to all the coins in this section, which comprises two types; one having the king's head with an open crown—the other a crown with a double arch.

The Dublin groats with the open crown present several varieties, they weigh from twenty-six to thirty-one grains. Fig. 24 has the legend HENRICVS DI GRA DNS HYBEBNIE, one or two pellets between the words, no trefoils at the points of the tressure; reverse, two pellets before the motto POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE' MEVM, in the inner circle, CIVITAS DVBLINIE. Fig. 25 has a mint mark of four pellets, and DEI in the legend; reverse, a pellet after CIVITAS, in which E has been substituted for C. The legend of fig. 26 is, HENRICVS DEI GRA DNS HYBEB, there are trefoils at some of the points of the tressure; mint mark on the reverse, a cross pierced in the centre, and in the inner circle CIVITAS DVBLNNIE.

The four following groats have a small cross at the beginning of the legend, which is HENRICVS or HENRICVS DEI GRA DNS HIBER, small crosses between the words, and trefoils at the points of the tressure. The mint mark on the reverse of fig. 27, is a small cross patee; on fig. 28, a trefoil; fig. 29, has two small crosses, before the motto POSVI DEV ADIVTORE MEV. Fig. 30 has CIVITAS DVBLIN, and is without a mint mark on the reverse.

The name of the city on fig. 30 has been read DVBLYM, but it appears to me to have been blundered by punching the letters IN twice on the die; the letter taken for Y, is only the I doubled; and that taken for M, is a double N, as is evident from the projection at the top of the letter on the left, whereas the M

\* Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, p. 108.

is always rounded at the top ; the coin is evidently blundered, and does not warrant the adoption of a reading for which there is no other authority.

Simon assigns to Henry the Sixth a groat of the same type as those now described, and conjectures that it was struck "*before* this unfortunate prince was *dethroned* by Edward the Fourth."\* Mr. Lindsay assents to the appropriation, but thinks the coin was struck "after his restoration in 1470," as well as another groat which he has published.†

Although it cannot be proved that the coins already described in this section, belong to Henry the Seventh, there are many objections against assigning them to Henry the Sixth.

There is no evidence that any coins were minted in Ireland during Henry's brief restoration, nor even that his temporary authority was recognized in this country, and if coins had been struck at that time, it is not likely that he would have ventured to reduce the weight of the groat which in 1470 was nearly forty-one grains, to thirty-one, the greatest weight of any of these coins I have met with.

Until very lately it was universally believed, that Henry the Seventh did not coin any money with an open crown, but this opinion is now known to be erroneous, and to quote the words of Mr. Hawkins, it may be considered "as established beyond controversy, that Henry the Seventh did strike coins with an open crown."‡

The coin which led Mr. Cuff to this important discovery, is a York penny of Thomas Rotherham, who was archbishop of that see from 1480 to 1504. Mr. Hawkins, in his able and valuable work, describes a penny with the king's name on the obverse, and as having the archbishop's initial, "a T at one side of the neck and a (fleur-de-) lis at the other, with an H in the centre of the reverse ;"§ but as the representation of the coin (fig. 367) is defective, inasmuch as it has not the "T at one side of the neck," I subjoin the figure of one which has lately come into my possession.



\* P. 22, and Pl. III. fig. 70.

‡ Silver Coins of England, p. 120.

† P. 37, and Pl. V. fig. 104.

§ P. 120.

This little coin differs from the three varieties described by Mr. Hawkins, in having a small cross at one side of the neck; and it possesses additional interest in relation to some other Irish coins of Henry, as will appear hereafter.

It may not be amiss to notice a few particulars of the coins themselves. The small crosses on figs. 27, 28, 29, 30, as mint marks, are similar to those on coins to be described hereafter. The letter B is frequently substituted for R, a blunder which I have not observed on any of the coins of Edward the Fourth, struck in or about 1470, from which these coins are also distinguished by the absence of the hair on the king's forehead, a peculiarity common to the undoubted English and Irish coins of Henry the Seventh. The word HIBER in the legend is also remarkable, and I may add, it is not probable that such a variety of mint marks would have been adopted, during the very short period, within which these coins could have been struck by Henry the Sixth.

One groat of the Waterford mint is known; the letters which are preserved on the obverse are just sufficient to identify it as belonging to one of the Henrys. The legend appears to have been HENRIC DEI GRA REX ANGLI FRANC; reverse, POSVI, &c., and CIVITAS WATERFORD; it weighs thirty-two grains.—(Fig. 31.)

The last coin in this division has a large cross, mint mark, and the legend HENRIC DEI GRA REX ANGL FR, with small cinque-foils between the words; reverse, POSVI, &c., and CIVITAS DVBLINIE. The c is represented by e, and the d by an e reversed; it weighs twenty-nine grains.—(Fig. 32.)

This groat appears to be the link, as to type, between the preceding coins, and those with the double-arched crown in the next division.

The coins in the second division of this section, are distinguished by the double-arched crown, surmounted by a ball and cross. The number of arches in the tressure varies, and some have a pellet at each point of the tressure.

The legend on the groats is HENRIC DEI GRA REX ANGL FR. The c in the king's name is in most instances reversed, and the words are divided either by a small cross or two cinque-foils; reverse, POSVI DEVM AIIVTORE MEVM, and in the inner circle, CIVITAS DVBIINIE; when in good preservation they weigh from thirty to thirty-two grains.—(Figs. 33, 34.)

Simon says he had some groats "with a *single*, and others with a double-arched crown."\* I do not know of any such variety, and I have little doubt but his fig. 97 is incorrectly represented. The legend is HENRICVS DI GRA REX AGI.

\* P. 32.

& FR, and at each point of the tressure there is a small cross; now in all the arched crown groats of Henry which I have seen, they have only HENRIC, nor have any of them crosses at the points of the tressure; in the next place, his coin has the motto POSVI DEVM AIVTORIVM, which I have observed only on coins with a cross *fourchee* on the reverse.

All these differences can, perhaps, be accounted for, by supposing that Simon had before him a groat similar to my fig. 40, and it is very remarkable that the relative position of the letters on the reverses of his coin and mine are the same; thus POSVI and INIE are in the same quarter of the cross, instead of POSVI and CIVI as on most other coins. It is probable, that the legend on the obverse was imperfect, and that the deficiency was supplied by copying from a groat with the arched crown, and the arches of the tressure may have been mistaken for those of the crown.

The half-groat has the crown apparently with a single arch, surmounted with a ball and cross, the hair in long flowing curls, trefoils at the points of the tressure, and on the breast the letter v inverted. The legend is HENRIC DI GRA REX ANLIE; reverse, POSVI DEVM ADIVTOR, and CIVITAS DVLIN, with a cross after DV. It weighs twenty-one grains and a half.—(Fig. 35.)

The arches of the crown, which are plain, the arrangement of the hair, the v on the breast,\* the meaning of which I cannot explain, the legends, and the trefoils at the points of the tressure, distinguish this coin from the groats. The small cross in the inner circle has been taken for an x, but a similar cross occurs at the end of the motto, and also on the reverse of the penny, fig. 22, on which it certainly does not represent a letter. The weight of this piece is considerably more than half of the groat; another specimen which I have seen weighs only fourteen grains and a half.

Henry the Seventh, in his fifth year, introduced the type of the arched crown on the English coins,† and shortly after (1491) Nicholas Flint, who held several offices in connexion with the English mint, in the early part of Henry's reign, was appointed master of the mint in Dublin and Waterford.

From these data I infer that the arched-crown groats were minted by Flint,

\* Mr. Hawkins mentions a Durham penny of Edward the Fourth, with a v on the breast.—Silver Coins of England, p. 115.

† Hawkins, p. 107.

and this conjecture is supported by the very close resemblance between the English and Irish coins, in type and workmanship.

The half-groat, notwithstanding all its peculiarities, appears to be contemporary with the groats.

Mr. Lindsay supposes the Waterford groat (fig. 31) to have been struck by Henry the Sixth "after his restoration in 1470." The legend of the coin, however, is not in favour of this appropriation, and the form of the letters have some resemblance to those on the coins which I conceive were struck while Flint was master of the mints of Dublin and Waterford. This coin is remarkable for having the hair on the king's forehead.

I also consider fig. 32 to be the work of an English artist, it resembles some of the arched-crown groats in almost every particular except the crown, and even in this there is some resemblance, for if the cross was resting on a ball, the arches of the tressure might readily be taken for those of the crown.

#### THE THIRD SECTION.

All the coins in this section (with one exception) have the king's head on the obverse, and a cross fourchee with three pellets in each quarter, on the reverse. They may be divided into two classes; first, those having a double-arched crown; second, those with an open crown.

The coins in the first class have the arched crown, surmounted by a ball and cross; the arches are usually formed of pellets, but in some specimens they are plain lines; the number of arches in the tressure round the head varies, and there are generally three pellets at each point of the tressure, some have annulets within the tressure, and also between the words of the legend; the hair is always in long hanging curls, resembling in this respect the English groats of Henry. All the specimens which I have seen have the letter H\* in the centre of the reverse, they are rudely executed and the legends are more or less defective; they appear to have been clipped, and weigh from twenty-six to twenty-eight grains.

\* A boar's head is very neatly represented as occupying the centre of the reverse of a groat, published by Simon, Pl. V. fig. 99. In this instance, I suspect that he mistook the H for a boar's head, and the engraving seems to represent the coin in greater perfection than the original; my suspicion is supported, if not confirmed, by his own description; he says, "the last of these (arched-crown groats) has on the reverse, in the centre of the cross, a boar's head, mint mark; and though much *clipped* and *worn*, they weigh from *twenty-seven* to thirty-one grains."—p. 32.

Fig. 36 has the legend HENRIC DEI GRA REX ANLIE FR, and on the reverse CIVITAS DVBLINE; the motto appears to have been intended for POSVI DEVM ADIVTORIVM.

The legend on fig. 37 is HENRIES DEI GRA RIES ANLI, and on the reverse CIVITAS DVBLINI.

On fig. 38 the legends are HENRIES DI GR --- REX A ---- E, and CIVITAS DVBLINIE.

I do not know of any half-groats of this type.

The penny, fig. 39, has on the obverse a double-arched crown, and the letter H under it, the legend is HENR ----; reverse, a cross pierced at each extremity, and the legend CIVITVS -----, it weighs five grains and a half.

The pierced cross on this curious little piece, connects it with the coins in this section, but it is more particularly identified with them, by the form of the H in the king's name, which seems to be identical with the first letter in the legend on the obverse of fig. 38.

It is difficult to account for the peculiarities of this penny. The artist perhaps did not possess sufficient skill to execute a head on so small a scale, and as a substitute for it, transferred the initial of the king's name from the reverse to the obverse, the crown on which, resembles that on the coins in the first section, while the arches are the same as on the groat, fig. 34.

The arched crown, the long hanging curls, and the cross *fourchee* on the reverse, all concur in establishing the appropriation of these groats to Henry. It is now admitted, that the plain cross was not abandoned on the English coins until some time after the accession of Henry the Seventh; and in the Scotch series it does not appear, that the cross *fourchee* was adopted prior to the reign of James the Fourth, who was contemporary with Henry; nor does any instance of it occur on the numerous coins struck in Ireland during the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, while it invariably occurs, more or less modified, on all the Irish coins of Henry the Eighth; hence I conclude that these coins were struck subsequent to the arched-crown groats described in the second section, and the idea of placing the initial of the king's name on the reverse may have been derived from Rotherham's penny.\* The rude manner in which they are executed makes it probable that they were not the work of an English artist,

\* See p. 67.

while the occurrence of the words HENRIES and RIES, imply that they were executed by a Frenchman.

The coins in the second class have an open crown, and may be divided into those having a tressure round the head, and those without a tressure. The varieties of the first kind are numerous.

Fig. 40 (Pl. VII.) has the legend HENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX ALIE; reverse, POSVI DEVM AIVTORIVM, and in the inner circle CIVITAS DVBLINIE. Fig. 41, reads henri-CVS DEI GRATIA REX ANLIE; the motto is blundered, and in the inner circle it has SIVITAS DVBLINE, the D being represented by an inverted G. Fig. 42 is engraved to show the degree to which it is blundered on the reverse.

The number of arches in the tressure on these coins varies from eight to eleven, and at each point there is a small cross, the hair is in long hanging curls, just as it appears on the English groats of Henry with the arched crown; they weigh from twenty-seven to twenty-eight grains and a half.

The groat which Simon published (Pl. III. fig. 69) as belonging to Henry the Sixth, is evidently of the same type as my fig. 40.

Fig. 43 has a cross mint mark, the legend is HENRIC D-ei gra-CIA REX AGL, with small crosses between the words, there are three crosses within the tressure, and the hair is in long hanging curls; the motto is POSVI DVM ADIVTORIV MEVM, and in the inner circle CIVITAS DVBLINIE. The C is represented by E, and an inverted E is substituted for D; it weighs thirty grains.

Fig. 44 has the hair in short close curls; the legend is HENRI-C de-I GRACIA REX ANGLE, with annulets between the words; the letter L is represented by a double I, as on some of three-crown groats;† reverse, POSVI, &c., and CIVITAS DVBLINIE; it has the letter H in the centre of the reverse, and weighs twenty-nine grains.

The mint mark on fig. 45 is a small cross, the tressure has only six arches, the crown is very flat, and there is a cross at each side of the neck. The legend is HENRIC dei gr-ACIA REX ALIE FR; reverse, POSVI DEVM ADIVTORIVM, and CIVITAS DVBLINI; it weighs only twenty-three grains.

Of the groats without the tressure round the head the varieties are very numerous.

Fig. 46 has a cross at each side of the crown, and the hair in long hanging

\* See figs. 16, 18, 19, Pl. V.



curls ; the legend is HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX ANI ; reverse, SIVITAS DVBLINIE ; the motto is blundered ; it weighs twenty-nine grains. Fig. 47 is of the same type, but the legends on both sides are unintelligible ; it weighs twenty-seven grains.

Simon's coin (Pl. III. fig. 59) is identified with this type, by wanting the tressure, and having the cross at each side of the crown ; but if the details of his engraving are correct, the coin is very different from any I have seen.

Fig. 48 is a very remarkable coin, it has a rose or cinquefoil at each side of the crown, and also as a mint mark, the hair is in long full curls, and the bust is concealed by drapery, resembling a cloak, HENBIC is all that remains of the legend ; the reverse is altogether unintelligible, and it weighs only twenty-four grains.

The coin in Simon's third Plate (fig. 60) is of this type, and is represented as being perfect in every respect ; it is much to be regretted that many of the most curious coins which he possessed cannot now be discovered.

The remaining coins in this division are chiefly distinguished by the absence of the tressure round the head. The crown is open and very shallow—the hair is in short, close curls, which stand out from the face—the shoulders are more displayed than on any of the preceding coins, and are without drapery—and the mint mark is a cross. The legend on the obverse, in its most perfect form, is, HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX AGLIE FR ; reverse, POSVI DEVM ADIVTORIVM, and in the inner circle CIVITAS DVBLINIE ; a few have SIVITAS ; the name of the city is generally abridged, and several are blundered to an extreme degree ; they weigh from twenty-four to twenty-nine grains and a-half.

No half-groats or pennies of this type are known, and Dublin is the only place of mintage.

The following list exhibits the legends of the most remarkable varieties :

- Fig. 49, HENRCVS DI GRACIA REX AGLIE FR. POSVI-DEVM -ADIVT-ORIVM. CIVI-TAS -DVBL-INIE.  
 50, HENRCVS DI GRACIA REX AGLIE FR. POSVI-DEVMA -DIVTO-RIVM. CIVI-TAS -DVB -LINI.  
 51, HENRCVS DI GRACIA REX AGNIE. POSVI-DEVM -ADIVT-ORIVM. CIVI-TAS -DVB -LIN.  
 52, HENRCVS DI GRACIA REX AGNIE. POSV -IDEV -MADI -VTOR. CIV -ITA -SDV -BL.  
 53, HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX AGNI. POSV -IDEV -MADI -VTOR. CIV -ITA -SDV -BLI.  
 54, HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX AGNI. POSV -IDEV -MDEV -TORIV. CIV -ITA -SD -VB.  
 55, HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX AGN. POSVI-DEVMI -ADIVT-ORIVM. SIVI-TASD-DVB -LINE.  
 56, HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX AGN. IEMA -MIVI -TASD -VBLA. CIVI-TAS -DVB -LIE.  
 57, Blundered. Blundered CIV -ITAS-DVB -IAII.

I have had occasion, in more than one instance, to doubt the accuracy of Simon's engravings; and it is plain that he sometimes erred in attempting to restore the legend of a defaced coin. His fig. 56, has GRA, but my fig. 55 has GRACIA, and is identified with Simon's, by having the letters NE in the name of the city united exactly as he has represented them; and my friend, the Rev. J. W. Martin, has a groat which certainly has been struck from the same die as mine, but defective in the legend exactly in the place where Simon's differs from fig. 55. Mr. Martin's coin has been traced to Simon's possession.

Of the many coins without the tressure which I have seen, I have not met with any so perfect as those engraved in Simon's Essay. The errors, for such I must consider them, which appear in the legends, &c., of figs. 56, 57, 58, may be accounted for by his attempting to restore partially defaced coins, while the letters in the inner circle correspond with pieces known at present.

In making these observations, I by no means intend to insinuate that Simon intentionally misrepresented the legends on any of his coins, on the contrary, I am satisfied that his errors are to be attributed to the want of opportunities enjoyed by his successors, and his work, which he "modestly styled an Essay only," has received a well merited eulogium from the able and impartial author of the "*Annals of the Coinage of Britain.*"

Mr. Lindsay was the first writer who questioned the correctness of Simon's appropriation of the groats without the tressure to Henry the Fifth; and as several distinguished numismatists are still of opinion, that these groats are the earliest in the Irish series, it is necessary to enter at some length into the discussion of this question.

I shall first lay before my readers, an abstract of Mr. Lindsay's opinions, and then proceed to investigate the objections which have been urged against them.

"It must in the first place be observed," says Mr. Lindsay, "that no records have hitherto been discovered, which direct, or even refer to, an Irish coinage from the reign of Edward III., until the 38th Henry VI., 1459-1460."\*

In the Introduction to this essay, I have quoted a roll of the 9 Henry V., and another of the 3 Henry VI., which, although unknown to Mr. Lindsay

\* *View of the Coinage of Ireland*, p. 31.

when he wrote, tend to support his opinion that Henry the Fifth did *not* coin money in Ireland.

He next observes, "this Act (38 Henry VI.) would seem to imply that a separate coinage for Ireland, of a type and standard different from that of England, was then for the first time adopted; if so, the coins assigned to Henry V., viz., Nos. 56, 7, 8, 9, 60, of Simon, could not have been struck before that period, as they differ in type, and still more in weight from any English coins *hitherto* struck."

I have already shown, that if any money was coined in Ireland during the early part of the reign of Henry the Sixth, it ought to be of the same weight, allay, and assay, as the silver money made in London.\* The difference in type will be noticed hereafter.

At an adjourned sitting of the parliament of the 38 Henry VI., it was ordered that the groat "shall pass for five-pence," and on these words, Mr. Lindsay remarks, "it is nearly certain that these coins must have been of the English standard, then sixty grains to the groat, otherwise they would not have been ordered to pass at the rate of a penny more than the new (Irish) groat of forty-five grains, and could not possibly have meant or included the groats given by Simon to Henry V.," and adds, "let us now consider the coins themselves, and compare them with the English coins of the Henrys. The first peculiarity which presents itself, is the want of the double tressure round the king's head"—the next, "is the cross fourchy on the reverse," then, "the king's title," and lastly, "their weight."

Mr. Lindsay, with the candour of an enlightened and impartial writer, concludes by saying, "having thus given to the coins an appropriation very different from that of Simon, or indeed I will admit of any other writer who has noticed them, I think it fair to lay before my readers, the opinion of a learned friend on whose judgment in matters relating to the English and Irish coinage, I have the greatest reliance."

With the arguments of Mr. Lindsay, in support of his appropriation, I fully concur, and therefore I feel imperatively called upon to institute a rigid inquiry into the objections of his learned friend, whose opinions are deservedly entitled to the highest respect.

\* See p. 53.

The first objection is to the workmanship, of which he says, "comparing those groats assigned by Simon to Henry V., with the undoubted coinages of Edward IV. and Henry VII., I should say that the design and workmanship of the former is so very poor, imperfect, and barbarous, that coming from the *same* mint of Dublin, I cannot conceive them subsequent to Edward IV., and still less suppose them contemporaneous with those of the arched crown of Henry VII. To me they are evidently the *first* groats in the Irish series, the workmanship of very rude, ignorant artists, who had very imperfect command of the graver, could design little, and execute less."\*

The appearance of the bust—the form of the letters—the blundered legends—the flat crown—the circle round the head, are all noticed; and he adds, "I cannot but repeat, that their appearance and fabric appear to me to exclude them altogether from the coinage of Henry VII."

The appearance of the bust and the workmanship on these coins is certainly very rude; yet the difference between the coins, "coming from the *same* mint of Dublin," may, in some measure, be accounted for, by the fact, that Nicholas Flint, who was "sculptor de et pro ferris," in the mint of London, in 1486, was made "overseer of the mints of Dublin and Waterford" in 1491, and was succeeded in his office in Dublin, in 1506, by Thomas Galmole alias Archibold, a *goldsmith in Dublin*.

"The letters are thin and uncertain" yet when they are compared with those on the rude coins of Henry the Seventh, with the arched crown (see figs. 36, 37, 38), it will be admitted, that if they are not identical, they bear a very close resemblance to them.

"The erroneous legends," are not more remarkable than the blunders which occur on some of the Irish groats of Henry the Eighth,† and are very similar to the legends on figs. 42 and 47, which, in my opinion, are identified with the time of Henry the Seventh, by having the hair in long hanging curls.

"The crown is quite level," but it is identical with that on the tressured groat (fig. 45), and bears a close resemblance to the crowns on some of the groats described in the first division of the second section.

"The head is encircled by a mere line, and not a dotted circle," such, no doubt, appears to be the case on a few of these coins, but on most of them which

\* Lindsay, p. 34.

† Ibid. Pl. VII. figs. 147, 148.

I have met with, the circle is more or less indented; on fig. 53 it is even roped, and several others have a circle of pellets very distinctly marked.

Mr. Lindsay's correspondent, relying on the objections which I have endeavoured to refute, says, "this is what may be termed the internal evidence furnished by the coin itself, and to me completely decides the question."

"The array of Acts of Parliament, weight of coins," &c., are not allowed to be of much importance; but I cannot consent to give up the evidence derived from such authorities, for the Irish coins of Edward the Fourth are generally found to be in strict accordance with the standard fixed by the Acts; and while it is admitted, that "the groat of Henry V. should weigh sixty grains," it appears to me incredible that any groats should be issued by him at so low a weight as "twenty-eight" grains.

It is also asserted, that no coinage took place in Ireland "from the death of Edward II. to the accession of Henry V.," and that "after such a lapse of time (nearly a hundred years), the attempt at a coinage may be expected to be very wretched, and so it is. Supposing, as is natural, that the Irish engraver would make the current English groat his copy, as near as his want of ability would allow him, the copy, such as we see it, is more Edward the Third's and Richard the Second's, than Edward the Fourth's,—in the former, a larger space was left unoccupied by the bust than on the latter; and where the artist could scarcely attempt the plain circle surrounding the head, it is no wonder that he abandoned the tressure."

Here again, the authority of authentic records is disregarded, for in 1336 (10 Edward III.) "a proclamation was then issued by the king and council, for the coining of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings in *Ireland*;"\* and in 1339, a writ, entitled, "*De cuneis in Hiberniam mittendis*," was issued;† and if it be admitted that the English coins which have the name "Edwardus" belong to Edward the Third, this question is settled respecting the Irish coins; for in February, 1841, a farthing was found at Trim, on the obverse of which is a head within a triangle, and the legend EDW-ARDV-SREX; reverse, cross and pellets, with CIVITAS DVBLINIE. This coin is in the cabinet of the Rev. Richard Butler, of Trim. And if "nearly a hundred years" elapsed without any coinage taking place in Ireland, it does not follow that the first attempt should necessarily be

\* Simon, p. 16.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. II.

“very wretched,” for the earliest groats minted in Ireland, of which we have any authentic records, were as well executed as the English coins of the same period; nor can I perceive that the coins in question are more like “the current English groat” than the Irish coins of Edward the Fourth; for on all the London groats of Richard the Second, and Edward the Third, which I have seen, the Roman *N* is used in the name of the city, while on these Irish coins of Henry it never occurs. The form of the letter *i* is also different; on Henry’s coins it is always more or less forked, and never square at the ends, as is invariably the case on the supposed models. The objection of the plain circle round the head, has been already answered, and the striking resemblance in almost every respect (except the tressure and crosses at each side of neck), between fig. 45, and the untressed groats, induces me to believe that the artist “abandoned the tressure,” rather from choice than inability to execute such a trifling ornament.

It also strikes me as very extraordinary, that an artist so ignorant as has been supposed, should invent a cross fourchee for the reverse of his rude coin; and how did the illiterate artist (who it is conjectured “could not spell”) learn that the *GRA* on the supposed models, was only an abbreviation for *GRACIA*, which is found without exception on the untressed groats, as well as on some others of which little, if any doubt can exist, that they belong to Henry the Seventh, as the half-groat, fig. 35, and the tressed groats figs. 40 and 45; and why did not the copyist adopt the usual motto, but instead of it engrave on his die, *POSVI DEVM ADIVTORIVM*.?

Several authorities are cited to show “that *REX AGL* *may have been* also used in Ireland before the reign of Henry VII. ;” but the Act of 10 Edward IV., which ordered that *REX ANGLIE* should form part of the legend on the coins, has not been noticed, and there is not any Irish coin known with this title, which can be referred to an earlier date. The penny of Henry the Sixth has the legend *HENRICVS DNS HIBNIE*.\*

In bringing these observations to a conclusion, I feel bound to acknowledge, that, if I have been at all successful in establishing opinions different from those of preceding writers, it has been chiefly owing to the advantage I enjoyed of having so large a number of coins of the different types before me at one view. It now only remains for me to assign such reasons as appear to warrant the appropriation of the coins in the last plate to Henry the Seventh.

\* See p. 56.

Assuming that it will be admitted that the groat with the arched crown, and the H in the centre of the reverse (fig. 36) belongs to Henry the Seventh, it can scarcely be doubted that figs. 40, 41, 42, are nearly contemporary with it—GRACIA in the legend—the arrangement of the hair—and the cross fourchee on the reverse are common to both. The cross on fig. 43 over the crown, which seems to have single arches, and the words REX AGL in the legend, connect this coin with the double-arched groats figs. 33, 34, while the crosses within the tressure, the word GRACIA, and the long curls, show how closely allied it is to figs. 40 and 44, the latter of which is remarkable for the H in the centre of the reverse. The cross at each side of the neck and the tressure on fig. 45, connect it with fig. 43, and in every other particular it is almost identical with fig. 50.

Notwithstanding all the objections which Mr. Lindsay's correspondent has made against the appropriation to Henry the Seventh, of the "groats assigned by Simon to Henry V.," he admits, "the curious groat in (Mr. Lindsay's) collection, *without a tressure*,"\* to be an early groat of Henry VII." To me this admission is important, yet I must in some measure dissent from it, in expressing my belief, that the coin was struck in the *latter* part of Henry's reign; the hair, and the cross at each side of the crown connect it with fig. 41, the absence of the tressure with fig. 55, and the word SIVITAS occurs on the three coins; fig. 47 is only a blundered variety of fig. 46, and fig. 48 is a very remarkable coin.

Of the remaining coins little need be said; the blundered legends on fig. 57 are not more remarkable than those on figs. 42, 47, and 48, and the want of the tressure is the chief distinction between them and fig. 45; the word GRACIA on the obverse—SIVITAS on three varieties, and the cross fourchee on the reverse—and the form of the letters, concur in making it probable, that all the coins in the last Plate were minted about the same time; and from the many varieties of type, and the bad style of workmanship of these coins, it is evident that the mint of Dublin was in a very unsettled state; under these circumstances it is not surprising to find the arched crown abandoned, and the open crown resumed in place of it.

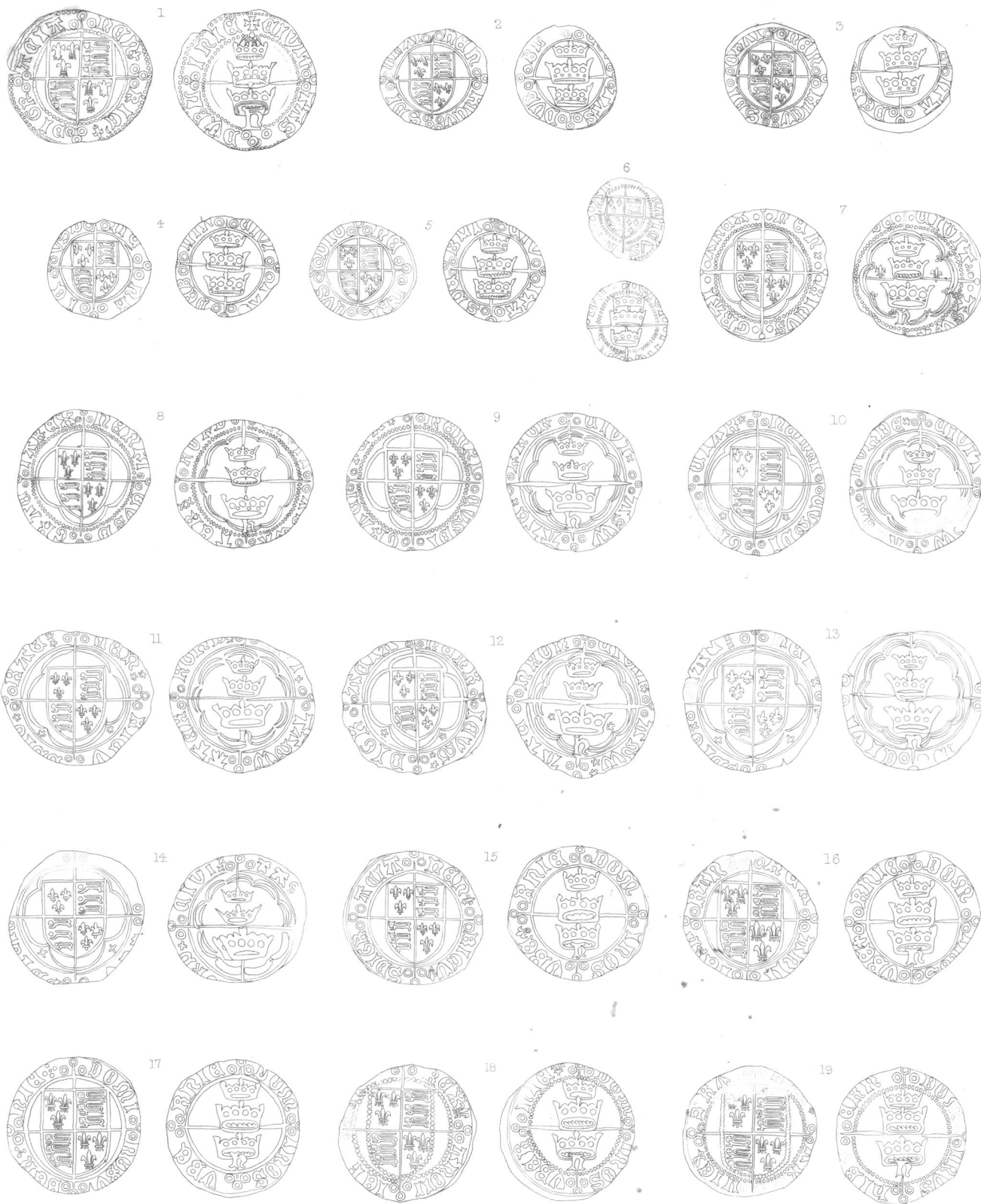
I feel little hesitation now in appropriating these coins to the latter part of the reign of Henry the Seventh. It is not improbable that many of them were

\* See fig. 46.

struck by Galmole, who was appointed master of the mint of Dublin on the 6th of July, 1506, and that he abandoned the tressure in imitation of Henry's latest English coinage.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging my obligations, and expressing my gratitude to those who have so kindly favoured me with the means of illustrating this very obscure period of the History of the Irish coinage.





## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

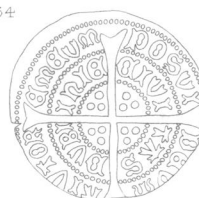
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 PLATE I.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
1	Groat.	Dublin.	27 grs.	14	Mr. Cuff.
2	Half-groat.	"	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	"
3	"	"	13	"	Dr. A. Smith.
4	"	"	12	"	"
5	"	"	12	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
6	Penny.	"	7	"	"
7	Groat.	Waterford.	26	"	Mr. Sainthill.
8	"	"	28	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
9	"	"	28	16	"
10	"	"	30	"	"
11	"	"	28	"	Dr. A. Smith.
12	"	"	28	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
13	"	"	26	"	Mr. Sainthill.
14	"	"	25	"	Mr. Lindsay.
15	"	"	30	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
16	"	?	30	"	Dr. A. Smith.
17	"	?	27	"	"
18	"	?	28	"	Rev. R. Butler.
19	"	?	22	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.

## PLATE II.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
20	Groat.	?	26 grs.	16	Dean of St. Patrick's.
21	Half-groat.	?	13	17	Rev. J. W. Martin.
22	Penny.	?	6	„	Rev. R. Butler.
23	„	Dublin ?	5	18	„
24	Groat.	Dublin.	26	19	Dean of St. Patrick's.
25	„	„	30	„	Dr. A. Smith.
26	„	„	28	„	Dean of St. Patrick's.
27	„	„	30	„	„
28	„	„	30	„	„
29	„	„	31	„	Mr. Sainthill.
30	„	„	31	„	„
31	„	Waterford.	32	21	„
32	„	Dublin.	29	„	Dean of St. Patrick's.
33	„	„	32	„	Mr. Sainthill.
34	„	„	30	„	„
35	Half-groat.	„	21½	22	Rev. J. W. Martin.
36	Groat.	„	27	24	Dean of St. Patrick's.
37	„	„	26	„	„
38	„	„	28	„	Mr. Sainthill.
39	Penny.	„	5½	„	Rev. R. Butler.





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57



## PLATE III.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
40	Groat.	Dublin.	27 grs.	25	Dean of St. Patrick's.
41	"	"	28	"	"
42	"	"	27½	"	"
43	"	"	30	"	Rev. R. Butler.
44	"	"	29	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
45	"	"	23	"	"
46	"	"	29	"	Mr. Lindsay.
47	"	"	27	26	Dean of St. Patrick's.
48	"	"	24	"	"
49	"	"	26	"	"
50	"	"	24	"	"
51	"	"	28	"	Dr. A. Smith.
52	"	"	25	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
53	"	"	28	"	Mr. Sainthill.
54	"	"	25½	"	Mr. Lindsay.
55	"	"	29½	"	Dr. A. Smith.
56	"	"	28	"	Dean of St. Patrick's.
57	"	"	29	"	Dr. A. Smith.